

The I. W. W. is an ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION of the WORKING CLASS; It Has No Political Affiliation and is controlled by No Political Party

The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

Vol. I. No. 48.

CHICAGO, JANUARY 25, 1908.

50c. a Year.

Any Attempt to Consolidate the Workers on Basis of Departmental Craft Autonomy and Insincere Professions Must Fail.

There was received on January 8th at the general headquarters of the Industrial Workers of the World, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, an invitation to a proposed "unity conference" to be held in this city April 6, and signed "Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners." It is addressed to "both factions" of the I. W. W. and is reproduced in full herewith, followed by the answer of the officers and General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World. Accompanying the invitation was a printed circular addressed to "Believers in Industrial Unionism," but since the circular contained nothing material to a clear understanding of the issue which is not included in the letter itself—except that it was made up almost entirely of the original Industrial Union Manifesto, upon which the I. W. W. has consistently stood since June, 1905, is signed by C. E. Mahoney and Jas. Kirwan, in addition to those whose signatures are attached to the invitation and PROVIDES that "representation at said conference should be based on one vote for every thousand bona fide dues-paying members or majority fraction thereof," it is excluded.

THE INVITATION

"Denver, Colo., December 17, 1907.

"To the Officers of Both Factions of the I. W. W.

"Dear Sirs and Brothers:—The W. F. M. at its last convention passed a resolution calling for a conference at Chicago of both factions of the I. W. W., and other labor organizations interested in the principles of Industrial Unionism, for the purpose of bringing about a consolidation of those organizations of wage slaves which have come to realize the necessity of an economic industrial organization of the workers.

"We, the Executive Board of the W. F. M., in session assembled, having under consideration the causes and circumstances which necessitated a postponement of said conference, and being earnestly desirous of carrying out the mandate of the fifteenth annual convention of the W. F. M., and determined to bring about a consolidation of the several factions of the I. W. W., in order that its members may be placed in a better position to withstand the onslaught and aggression of organized capital, submit to you, as officers of both factions of the I. W. W., the following proposition:

"That we urge upon the officers of the contending factions of the I. W. W. the necessity of not standing in the way of the solidarity of the working class, but to express their willingness to resign and advocate the participation of the I. W. W. organization in the conference to be called by the W. F. M., in accordance with enclosed call.

"So firmly do we believe and adhere to the principles of industrial unionism as set forth in the said manifesto that, rather than see the working class kept in a state of disruption by personal enmity and hatred, if our objects cannot be attained in any other way, we shall recommend to the next convention of the W. F. M. that the constitution shall be so amended and changed as to make it possible for the W. F. M. to become a foundation for a universal industrial labor organization, just as the mining industry is the stepping stone to civilization.

"The deplorable disorganization of the working class demands drastic measures, and we as the Executive Board of the W. F. M. are prepared and determined to employ every means in our power to bring about the unification of the working class.

"As the executive officers of the W. F. M. we are determined to demonstrate to our membership, the membership of both factions of the I. W. W. and the working class generally that we are not responsible for the continued dismemberment of the Industrial Workers of the World.

"We earnestly request that you seriously consider this communication and forward your reply to the same as soon as possible.

"Firmly trusting that you will do your part to bring about the reorganization of the I. W. W., we remain

"Yours for Industrial Unionism,

"ROBERT RANDALL,

"L. W. CALLAHAN,

"J. C. LOWNEY,

"BROOKING MCKENZIE,

"EARNEST MILES,

"WM. D. HAYWOOD,

THE ANSWER

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,

Industrial Workers of the World,

212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Jan. 20, 1908.

TO THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS:

Gentlemen and Brothers:

The plagiarized Manifesto, also your invitation to attend a convention called again by a few individuals who happen to be at the head of the Western Federation of Miners, is but another link in the chain of dishonest, treacherous methods pursued to blindfold the masses, and give a few tin gods an opportunity they were yearning for to stand in the limelight and shine as the great benefactors of bleeding humanity! It's a grand stand play indeed, nay, a farce in repetition.

A noted statesman once said "The appeal to patriotism is the last resort of a scoundrel." Applied to present day conditions in the American labor movement it would read: "THE APPEAL TO DRASTIC MEASURES TO BRING ABOUT THE UNIFICATION OF THE WORKERS IS THE LAST RESORT OF FAKIRS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT!" The history of the past twenty years is full of examples, but we revert only to the days when an identical appeal "to drastic measures to bring about the unification of the workers" was made by the American Federation of Labor in 1904 to the Western Federation of Miners. When we compare the conditions upon which this unification was to be established, we certainly must come to the conclusion that the same capitalist class interests that prompted the proposal then, are now at work again to enact another farcical repetition. Farcical, because the inviters to this "unification convention" are incompetent to outdo Gompers and his lieutenants.

When Cornelius, McMahon, White, Evans and Max Morris appeared in 1904 before the convention of the Western Federation of Miners in behalf of the American Federation of Labor, you men in the Western mountains immediately decided "That a conference be arranged to which all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the Western Federation of Miners, the American Labor Union and all otherwise independent unions be invited to send delegates for the purpose of bringing about the desired results." (See records of W. F. M. convention in 1904).

Why did you not unite then? Why did you not weep then over the fact that the working class was kept in a state of disruption by personal enmity and hatred?

SUBTERFUGES FOR UNITY

How quickly did you find out that the invitation for "unification" was only a subterfuge. Can you deny, in face of documents in our possession, that the drastic terms for unification were set forth in circular letters sent out from headquarters of the American Federation of Labor; and that these terms for this proposed "unification" were tantamount to the complete emasculation of the Western Federation of Miners? "Let William D. Haywood step down and out and the Western Federation of

An Invitation to Unity which Shows how the Burrs and Cockles Stick to those who Walk in the Byways of Compromise.

Miners will be all right!"—will you dispute that that was one of the provisions for unification proposed then by the American Federation of Labor?

How ludicrously does your letter of invitation compare with terms dictated by a category of men serving only capitalist interests, even allowing one or two exceptions, with the communications of those who dictated the first proposals for the "unification of the workers on the economic field" and resorted then to an "identical appeal to drastic measures" and to employ every means to bring about the unification of the working class? (See records of Boston convention A. F. of L., 1903.)

No, gentlemen; the idea is not original by any means! But, ah, you say: "WE ARE NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CONTINUED DISMEMBERMENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD."

Did you copy that again? Here's what the official organ of the United Mine Workers of America, the "Mine Workers' Journal," had to say after the invitation for "unification" had been extended to the W. F. M. in the issue of June 18, 1904:

"Mr. White is very hopeful and stated that he regards the chances for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor as very hopeful, more so than ever before. If this condition prevails there is every chance FOR A SETTLEMENT OF THE GREAT STRIKE, FOR ACCORDING TO SOCIALISTS, THE FIGHT IN COLORADO IS MORE A FIGHT OF THE OPERATORS AGAINST THE SOCIALISTS THAN AGAINST THE MINERS.

"Well-known Socialists have also said that if the Western Federation of Miners were to repudiate the American Labor Union, which is said to be in the hands of the Socialists, and would join the Federation of Labor, the strike could be brought to an end in a few weeks. A well-known and well-informed labor unionist stated that the settlement could, he believed, be brought about within three weeks after affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, which is decidedly against socialism.

"We believe the western miners are coming around to see this matter in the same light in which it appears to us."

Yes, sirs; you find embodied in the last quotation the real issue as it was then, as it is to-day, with the difference only that YOU have taken the place of the American Federation officials, and YOU think that by such a move you and the capitalist class will be able to emasculate the Industrial Workers of the World,—and there is but one organization entitled to that name and not two factions as you infer—as the American Federation of Labor thought to emasculate the revolutionary working class movement when the appeal was sent to you for unification on the economic field, so that the American Federation of Labor would no longer be responsible for the hostility of the mine owners and be able to settle your conflicts in a few weeks and consequently stop the "FURTHER DISMEMBERMENT OF THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS!"

A FARFARICAL REPETITION

It would be to laugh were it not such a tragic repetition! Of course those who have signed the plagiarized Manifesto as another invitation for "unification" don't seem to know how all the dregs of vituperation were poured out upon the Western Federation of Miners in 1904, after unification on terms dictated by the American Federation of Labor was not to the liking of the western unions; but the rank and file should be reminded that all-powerful resources of the A. F. of L. leaders and the captains of industry were immediately thereafter arrayed against the struggling miners; the organization was to be "dismembered," the voluntary aid and supplies cut off, and nothing short of annihilation was contemplated. That all the powers of oppression were not successful is solely due to the activity displayed by the then unorganized "revolutionary unionists," commonly called Socialists, and with an article, "Why this ominous silence?" one of the framers of this answer began the exposure of the nefarious schemes of the "unifiers;" others followed; it was the work of the "revolutionists" that saved the Western Federation of Miners from disastrous ruin; it was their work and theirs alone that started the propaganda in behalf of the victims of capitalist conspiracy, although they never asked for glory and to be placed in the limelight, and it is their power as propagandists that the inviters to the "unification convention" wish to emasculate; so that the Civic Federation may embrace with loving solicitude all the downtrodden who will swear allegiance to those who rule and exploit.

Yes, gentlemen; in 1904, a presidential election year, the move for "unification" by the A. F. of L. was an attempt to hamstring all revolutionary propaganda on the most essential, the industrial field, and divert working class activities in the polluted waters of political compromises. We are in another presidential election year, and experience tells us that this proposed "unification" is for political purposes alone, and is a scheme to sidetrack the revolutionary industrial union movement and have more energies concentrated on the political arena, so that prospective candidates may have the glory of pulling a high vote for their self-aggrandizement; not for the sake of any fundamental principles involved.

Would it be the first time in the history of the American labor movement that conventions called under the pretext of bringing about "unification" were turned into political glory-hallelujah affairs? Should the final tragedy in the career of the American Railway Union, the first attempt at constructing an Industrial Union, resulting from the abandonment of the industrial field of battle, where no glory could be earned, for the political playhouse where applause is given to words

alone; and where a good actor can chloroform the enthused crowd into the belief that his sham-productions are the real acts in life, be sufficient to give warning to those who know that only eternal vigilance by the working class will be the price of industrial freedom.

Hurrah campaigns among the throngs of downtrodden, shouting themselves hoarse, is in no way indicative of a constructive propaganda on the solid ground of industrial unionism. Big names attract big masses temporarily, but the disastrous, appalling history of misguided efforts is engraved on the tombstones of those who have been slaughtered and have fallen in the battles against the formidable strongholds of the rulers and oppressors. The drafters of resolutions and the callers for "unification" were seldom on the list of those who bore the real brunt of the fights.

The Industrial Workers of the World have sounded the note of warning to the proletarians all over the world; and we would be derelict in our duty towards the working class in this country were we to ignore the lessons of the past and fall into the trap laid for the revolutionary workers by their enemies and false friends alike.

Gentlemen, no; not for the self-aggrandizement of political leaders will you induce the Industrial Workers of the World to allow its own emasculation! A thousand times, no!

AN OLD ISSUE REVISITED

Yes, gentlemen; the issue is the same as in 1904, as in 1905, as in 1906 and 1907, as it is to-day, and as it will be until the organized proletariat will refuse to leave the factories, the mines and the mills at the command of their present masters, and will operate and manage them through their respective industrial organizations. It is the issue between the defenders of the capitalist system, capitalist corruption, capitalist trickery, and those who are striving and preparing, who are organizing, training and equipping the workers to make an end to all these miserable conditions.

There is no middle ground, gentlemen.

This was the issue when the American Federation of Labor officials sought to emasculate the Western Federation of Miners by proposing "unification" under the same pretext that you now copied, "that rather than see the working class kept in a state of disruption by personal enmity and hatred, the American Federation proposed to preach, ay, not only to preach, but to practice and inculcate the practice of unity, fraternity and solidarity of labor." (March and April, 1905, issues "American Federationist.")

Again it was the same issue when in 1905, immediately after the issuance of the Industrial Union Manifesto, one of the signers, the only one who by attaching his name had everything to lose, personally, and nothing to gain but persecution and abuse, was victimized at the behest of the capitalist class and by the request of the officials of the A. F. of L. (See "Columbus Citizen," April 17, 1905), and when the executive board of the same organization that you have now invited to participate in your "unification" conference, the International Union of United Brewery Workers, issued through the Associated Press on April 17th, the following statement:

"We deposed the editor of the Brauer-Zeitung for signing the Manifesto because we do not propose to let him or those who think with him on the subject of 'Industrial Unionism' wreck on the rocks of Socialism our national organization," it was clear to every self-thinking worker that it was again the same issue of capitalism against revolutionary unionism.

Failing in the attempt to smother under the fire of vituperation the awakening instincts of the working class, capitalist interests again, because unable to throttle the growing restlessness and prevent the organization of lines detrimental to the exploiters, succeeded in temporarily accomplishing the desired results by the employment of other means. What they could not destroy, they sought to control through their hirelings.

DOWN WITH SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES

It was one of the high officials of the Western Federation of Miners who declared during the days of the first convention of the I. W. W. in the presence of four witnesses, and who again twenty-four hours after the adjournment of that convention reiterated the opinion that he will "DO ALL IN HIS POWER TO PREVENT THE DOMINATION OF SOCIALIST PRINCIPLES IN THE I. W. W.," by these utterances again setting clearly forth the issue that apparently keeps the working class divided in two hostile camps. It was in 1905 that individuals, falsely claiming to represent organized bodies, found the golden opportunity to foist themselves as beasts of prey on a working class that cheerfully accepted the principles embodied in the Manifesto, and only feared that the capitalist labor lieutenants would utilize that healthy sentiment and divert it into the channels of corruption, and betray again the trust of the millions. You, none of YOU, who signed the invitation have ever heard the cries of condemnation by the toilers in the industrial centers, who, outraged by the lieutenants and politicians of the master class have lost confidence in their own class. From the battle of Homestead, in which participated on the side of the exploiters one of the sluggers hired by the money which the Western Federation of Miners officials advanced for the purpose of killing faithful and loyal members of the working class, up to the present day, the workers in the East have witnessed betrayal after betrayal, and only we, the Industrial Unionists, are now gaining their lost confidence by pointing to the fact that the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD IS THE ONLY ORGANIZATION THAT COULD RID ITSELF, ONE YEAR AFTER BEING ORGANIZED, OF EVERY LABOR FAKIR, A RECORD WHICH THE ORGANIZATION CAN BE PROUD OF A RECORD THAT HAS STARTLED AND AMAZED ALL THOSE WHO EXPLOIT AND RULE AND ALL WHO HELP THEM TO KEEP THE WORKING CLASS IN THE BONDAGE OF WAGE SLAVERY!

That coming events were forecasting their shadows was seen when on August 5th, 1906, the "Record-Herald" of Chicago announced in an editorial that at the 1906 convention of the Industrial Workers of the World the "socialists (industrial unionists) will be routed by those who wish to make the organization a real trade union," and "The delegation of the Western Federation of Miners is going to help to relegate the radicals to the rear and oust them completely," was prophesied by the well-paid scribbler, Max Mayes, who made such a prediction two

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CHICAGO, JANUARY 25, 1908

To the establishment of the workers' republic, or the Co-operative Commonwealth, no consideration will be so important as the self-imposed discipline of the Industrial Union. On that day when the workers are called upon to assume charge of the mills, mines, factories, railways—the means of production—and supplant the capitalist mode of production for profit by the Social mode of production for use, there will come to them the task which they alone will be competent to meet. On that day the workers will face the consummation of their ideal and the readjustment of industry in accordance with revolutionary requirements for which the Industrial organization has prepared them. Upon them will depend the one socially important task of continuing the processes of production and the maintenance of the discipline in all departments which will be necessary to the most effective results.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM AND INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

A falsehood travels fast and far and is hard to overtake. Its promulgators are as elusive as the proverbial flea. They are indifferent to evidence and interested only in maintaining the active propaganda of the lie which they have started.

One of the falsehoods which obtained currency immediately following the second convention of the I. W. W. in 1906, and which, although it has traveled far and fast, is destined soon to serve as a boomerang against those who started it and have kept it going, is the utterly untrue and groundless charge that the second convention destroyed the initiative and referendum and eliminated that system from the administrative processes of this organization.

Of course the charge is false, absolutely so. But it has been handed out, particularly by officials of the Western Federation of Miners, with a persistence born of a desperate determination to cover up or minimize the work of fakirs in that organization against the I. W. W., and is even now one of the chief grounds upon which the officers of the W. F. M. seek to perpetuate prejudice against us where it already exists and create prejudice where they do not find it.

Letters sent from the Denver office of the W. F. M. since January 6th repeat by implication the lie that members of the I. W. W. are denied "the right of initiative and referendum." The very men of the W. F. M. who have the presumptuous impudence to invite the officers of the I. W. W. to "resign" in order that they may escape responsibility for dismemberment of the I. W. W. and "continue in the limelight" themselves as the immaculate and original manifestos for the "unity, fraternity and solidarity of labor!" these men, all of them, while stoutly professing a consuming desire for "unity" and asking aid from us to bring it about, repeat falsehoods against us that have been oft disproved, and do it for the purpose of diverting attention from their own discreditable course during the past two years.

Since there seems to be no other course open to us but to again state the true facts in regard to the I. W. W. and the initiative and referendum, distasteful as it is, we undertook to do so, not for the officers of the W. F. M., about whom we are unconcerned, but for the benefit of the rank and file. In again reviewing the matter, however, we expressly challenge each and all the officers of the W. F. M. to refute the statements made in this article. We state the facts in as few words as possible and ask the fullest investigation of every point:

1. The provisional constitution of the I. W. W. (adopted at Chicago in 1905) contained this clause: "The General Executive Board, or not less than ten (10) locals in at least three (3) industries, may initiate a referendum on any subject to be submitted to the convention." (See section 1, article VII, on page 18 of the constitution.) It is important to keep the foregoing in mind for comparison with what follows.

2. The second convention (1906) adopted the following: "The convention of the I. W. W. is the supreme LEGISLATIVE body of the organization, and its enactments are of legal force unless reversed upon a referendum vote by the whole membership touching any and all amendments to the organic law which the convention may adopt. As to such amendments, they shall be submitted to a referendum vote by the G. E. B. within thirty days after the adjournment of the convention. The vote shall close sixty days after the date of the call for the referendum."

This provision, together with all other changes and amendments adopted by the second convention, was submitted to a referendum vote of the members; the latter with practical unanimity approved it, thereby showing that they were not so assinine as to believe that by so doing they were denying themselves "the right of initiative and referendum." It required the penetrating intellect of the Miners' Magazine editor to discern something in that provision that was not there and, with an injection of vile epithets and slanderous abuse, he said: "According to this paragraph the right to participate in legislative enactments is denied the membership and the membership can only repeal laws adopted by the convention." Notwithstanding the fact that any man could have satisfied himself as to the falsity of this contention if instead of swallowing it he had little, it has been persistently drilled into the ears of the workers by the officers of the W. F. M. and all their hysterical and misinformed supporters.

The new section will be found in article III, page 13, revised constitution. Read it once more, especially that part which says: "As to such amendments, they shall be submitted to a referendum vote by the G. E. B. within thirty days after the adjournment of the convention," and remember that all amendments were so submitted and voted upon by the general membership. And in the face of that fact our opponents who now clamor for "unity, fraternity and the solidarity of labor" and threaten DRASTIC ACTION unless it is accomplished ACCORDING TO THEIR PREARRANGED PLANS and without consultation with those invited to participate, have shamelessly and dishonestly declared that the membership of the I. W. W. was not consulted!

Now turn to the section first quoted above, the section from the old constitution that was entirely satisfactory to the sticklers for a democratic organization. Read it again: "The General Executive Board, or not less than ten (10) locals in at least three (3) industries, may initiate a referendum on any subject TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE CONVENTION."

Note carefully the last phrase—"TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE CONVENTION." Now compare this section with the following:

Sec. 6 (Article VI). The General Executive Board, or not less than ten (10) locals in at least three (3) industries, may initiate a referendum on any subject." This is from the constitution as amended and ratified in 1906. The section was changed to the extent of dropping the words "to be submitted to the convention"—that is to say, to the extent of establishing the initiative and referendum within reach of the membership without reference to conventions. As the section formerly stood, and was formulated by Charles H. Moyer, C. O. Sullivan (sub-committee of the committee on constitution in the first convention), it was a practical denial of the democratic principle and for that reason was eliminated by the second convention. That convention made it possible for the members to initiate legislation at any time.

Yet through all the months since the convention of 1906 it has been drilled into the minds of the workers by open enemies and false friends that the second convention denied the right of initiative and referendum to the membership.

Have you ever heard the story of the wonderful coon that Chandler Harris tells? No? It is interesting. The boys were constantly seeing an enormous coon, but always just as they almost got their hands on him, he disappeared. One night the boys came running in to say that the wonderful coon was up in a persimmon tree in the middle of a ten-acre lot; so they got the dogs and the lanterns and guns and ran out, and sure enough they saw the wonderful big coon up in a fork of the big tree. It was a bright moonlight night, but to make doubly sure they cut down the tree and the dogs ran in—the coon wasn't there!

"Well, but, Uncle Remus," said one of the boys, "I thought you said you SAW the coon there."

"So we did, honey," said the old man, "so we did; but it's very easy to see WHAT AIN'T THERE WHEN YOU'RE LOOKING FOR IT!"

The reactionists have found in the record everything that ain't there by looking for it and have denied everything that is there by false and malicious misrepresentation.

TEXTILE WORKERS

CALL FOR THE FIRST CONVENTION OF TEXTILE WORKERS, TO BE HELD MAY 1, 1908, IN L. W. W. TEXTILE WORKERS' HALL, PATTERSON, N. J.

Issued by the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World on January 15th, 1908.

For all particulars write to Wm. E. TRAUTMANN, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

TO THE TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA: Mutual relations between groups of workers are determined by the place and grade of employment. As handicraft produced the master and the journeyman, the skill acquired in long years of service was reflected in the grouping of the guilds. Displaced by the mechanical process, the handloom weaver and the journeyman have ceased to exist; huge factories and establishments have superseded the small workshop. No longer is the labor of one mechanic sufficient for the making of an article; hundreds of hands have to join together in collective work to yield to the owners of the machines and their tributary factories enormous profits exacted from the exploitation of wage earners in the industry.

The workers, with their skill rendered more and more useless, are held in common servitude to the machine which they tend, and which sets the pace for the full exploitation of their productivity. But while the workers fail to align themselves in groupings dictated by the change of tools which they operate, the capitalists in the industry carefully adjust themselves to the ever-changing conditions.

When the workers combined against further curtailment of conditions under which they were forced to sell their labor power, the owners sought to crush any efforts at resistance. Being unsuccessful in the attempt, they worked out plans to make the craft unions of workers subservient to the interests of the employers.

In preferring an organization of workers whose leaders assured them the protection of their mutual interests, the employers held the employees in abject servitude. In the United Textile Workers of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, one portion or craft of workers is held separated from others, one virtually seals up another.

Whenever a body of workers would rebel against further encroachments, the capitalists succeeded, through the United Textile Workers of America and their labor lieutenants, in pitting one set of workers against the other in bitter strife. And when textile workers in the northern parts would resist further reductions of their standard of living, the manufacturers continued to produce goods in the factories in the south controlled by them and kept the factories in operation with other members of the working class. Or, as was the case, places of striking workers were filled, at the behest of the capitalists, by the officers of the United Textile Workers of America, who were paid to keep the workers who did not know that they were helping the capitalists to lower the working conditions of all.

This arrayed against each other, the workers of the textile industry did not want to endure forever the slave-like conditions, and the loud outcries of the struggling thousands in Fall River, New Bedford, Philadelphia and other places have started, time and again, a world that holds its civilization in its hands.

Limited in scope and disconnected in action as were all previous efforts for the deliverance of the textile workers from the evils of this system, every outbreak of discontent and efforts at improvement could be subdued by the combined powers of the capitalists and craft union leaders, supported by the ignorance of the workers.

The economic evils afflicting the textile workers can only be eradicated by a universal extensive movement which (Continued on page 4)

Special Announcement

The answer to the General Executive Board of the I. W. W. appearing in this paper will be held in type for a reasonable time to fill orders. It will be printed in pamphlet form, about twenty-four pages, and will be supplied at the rate of \$2.50 per thousand. It should be distributed generally by locals of the I. W. W. Orders, with cash, must be filed not later than February 15.

Albert Ryan, secretary of the Arizona State Union, W. F. M., a loyal supporter of the I. W. W. from 1905 to the present time, is bound over to the grand jury on the charge of assault with a deadly weapon. In the discharge of his duty as secretary it became necessary for him to visit a mine in the vicinity of Jerome, Ariz., to call out the W. F. M. miners on strike. Arriving at the mine in question, he was threatened by the superintendent, who approached him with an iron bar and was about to strike him when Ryan stopped his assailant by drawing his revolver. Industrial Unionists will stand by Albert Ryan as he has stood by them. They will also, in view of experiences at Goldfield, watch the attitude of the W. F. M. officials towards him.

An effort is being made to have Joe Shannon, of Butte, released from jail, but Shannon, who is no flake, declines the intervention of friends unless the other two men confined with him are also liberated.

A large and successful meeting was held last Sunday, January 19, at Kensington Turner Hall, under the auspices of Local Union No. 500 of Pullman. The speaker was General Secretary Trautmann, and great interest in the I. W. W. was created by his remarks. The local will now arrange for a series of meetings to meet the demand for discussion of Industrial Unionism.

A large meeting of the workers of New York was held Friday, January 17, in Grand Central Palace, which Wm. D. Haywood spoke. Newspaper accounts agree that 6,000 men and women entered the hall.

The Answer

(Continued from page 1)

months prior to the convention in the International Socialist Review. It was the same issue again, the capitalist class against the working class.

Will you, who would lay the cause to "personal enmity and hatred" because you are trying to cover up the outrages committed by criminals, dare to deny the fact that the insignificant few of reactionists and the band of fakirs who had foisted themselves upon the young organization, in the first year, got their reinforcement from two well-known capitalist hirelings, political heelers of the typical capitalist type, John McMullen and P. J. McDonald, why, by the heavy vote they could cast as delegates of the Western Federation of Miners, and undoubtedly backed by capitalist interests, helped to carry out the plans that their masters had worked out for the control and consequent emasculation or the complete destruction of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Will you deny that it was the same issue over and over again, capitalist tools against working class pioneers? Will you dispute, in face of all the evidence, that from money collected for the defense of Moyer, Haywood and associates, collected at OUR instigation, and OURS alone, from the toilers of this land, the sluggers and would-be murderers were paid to GET men who have escaped the clutches of capitalist persecutors and could not be bought or cajoled?

Can you escape any longer the responsibility of silently endorsing and even openly approving through the columns of the "Miners' Magazine," all these dastardly acts, and of being guilty of serving the enemies of the working class; will you have the audacity to hide yourselves behind the shallow subterfuge, "It's personal hatred and enmity in the I. W. W. that keeps the workers divided," when the facts in the case prove that the issue in 1906 was again the CAPITALIST CLASS AGAINST THE WORKING CLASS, and your emissaries were on the side of the former.

THE I. W. W. IS TRIUMPHANT

Deprived of everything by the brutal force of Pinkerton detectives, paid by Western Federation of Miners' money, cut off from everything, with nothing, absolutely nothing at our command to repel the onslaughts, with an avalanche of abuse and vituperation poured over all the "tramps" and "doughnut brigade" by a perverted journalistic phrase juggler, we have based our hopes on the support of those workers who know but one foe, viz., the capitalist class and their plant tools. THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD ARE TO-DAY TRIUMPHANT!

In Goldfield, Nev., in 1907, it was again the CAPITALISTS AGAINST THE WORKERS, and you, through the "Miners Magazine," by eulogizing the would-be murderer Mullaney, who was summoned by the prosecution to Boise City, to help send George Pettibone to the gallows, supported the capitalists against the workers.

We are in 1908 now, and the issue is confronting us: Shall it be again, the capitalist class against the working class? Yes, it is so. We know by knowledge gained by experience that there are serious doubts whether all the signers of the invitation have been always and unequivocally for the working class and for the protection of working class interests. But we know that the welfare of the class of toilers is the supreme consideration for our guidance, and when making to other workers propositions upon which the "unification" may be accomplished, it is prompted by the earnest desire to serve best the interests of those who long and strive for the day when wage slavery will be at an end.

Lofty, no doubt, is the purpose of consolidating the workers against "the onslaught and aggression of organized capital," of securing "the solidarity of the working class," of bringing about "the unification of the working class," etc. These are lofty purposes that deserve applause; but how do they square with YOUR call for a NEW Industrial convention?

You set the example of schism. You set the anarchist example of secession, even before taking a general vote of either your own subdivision, or of the whole I. W. W. You set the deplorable example of ignoring the general vote of the I. W. W., which (even including the peculiar vote taken by your own division), upheld the convention of 1906. You set the disruptive example of leaving unrebuked, and of even approving the fraternal relations of your leading officers with the Chicago Pinkerton sluggers in their endeavor to THWART THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY. With such a record to your credit, how does YOUR present demand for a NEW convention square with your protestations of desiring consolidation? Your record is one of anarchistic disruption; a call from YOU for a NEW convention is but emphasizing of the principle of disruption. A call for a NEW convention, and for the formation of a NEW organization, issuing from such a quarter, and to the tune of "consolidation," "solidarity," "unification," etc., would be grotesque, even if your disruptive conduct had succeeded; in view, however, of the fact, well known to yourselves, that your disruptive tactics failed, and a lusty and growing trunk has remained, the evidence of the I. W. W., or Industrial Union organization in the land—in view of this fact, a call for a NEW convention and for the formation of a NEW organization, coming from such a quarter, is worse than grotesque. There is but a step from the tragic to the ridiculous. Such a call, for such a purpose, from such a quarter, is at once laughable and tragic.

It is an attempt, however, destined to failure, despite all the "dramatic measures" that you threaten, to consecrate FIREBRANDISM. Sufficient unto the day is the evil of such a call, from such a source. Fortunately, the firebrand of consecrated disorder—a NEW convention and a NEW organization—will not materialize. The I. W. W. declines to afford the move a chance of success by joining it.

LOFTY IDEALS DESERVE APPLAUSE

Again: Lofty is your declaration of "firm adherence to the principles of industrial unionism." That also deserves applause; but how does the declaration square with your pretension that your particular industry "IS THE STEPPING-STONE TO CIVILIZATION?"

Such a pretension is utterly repulsive to industrialist thought, to industrialist sentiment, and to industrialist fact. Important a step though mining was, in the remote ages of the past, to man's march toward civilization, other arts preceded it without which mining never could have been reached. One of these arts, for instance, is the art of pottery—a leading, vital industry in the land to-day. But leaving ancient history aside—TO-DAY, no one particular industry is entitled to or can exercise lordship over all others; TO-DAY industrialism is not pivoted, can not be pivoted, upon any one or two industries; TO-DAY, industrialism is pivoted upon the industrially blended labor of the Working Class in ALL industries. It is just that very anti-industrialist, in fact craft-union pretension, now peeping out of your letter, that was the evil genius of your conduct toward the I. W. W. It was that very craft-union spirit of Labor Aristocracy over Labor, that caused you to attempt the role of dictator to the other industries represented at the Chicago convention. It was that very craft-union, Labor-dislocating superstition and vanity that caused you "to withdraw from the game," imagining you could disrupt the I. W. W. if you "refused to play." Your craft pretension is anti-industrialist.

Grotesque enough is the notion of unrepentant disrupters calling a convention for consolidation; grotesqueness is piled upon grotesqueness by the further notion of craft-union superstition, of craft "superiority" becoming "the foundation for a universal industrial labor organization."

There is no sense in weeping over the past. We must be united; we will be united. But as corn can not grow out of dragon's teeth, neither can the consolidation of Labor's forces proceed along lines traced by disruptive methods, besides calls that still breathe the offensive breath of craft-unionism.

The invitation does not conform to the resolution adopted by the 15th annual convention of the W. F. M., in that it states that the resolution passed by the said convention called for a conference of both factions of the I. W. W. and other organizations "interested" in the principles of industrial unionism. The resolution referred to provided for a conference between the two factions of the I. W. W. and such other

I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

Leaflets in English, per 1,000—
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Story of a New Labor Union 1.50

Leaflets in Italian 3.00
" Swedish 3.00
" Polish 3.00
" Finnish 3.00
" Slavonian 3.00
" Croatian-Dalmatian 4.00
" German 4.00
" Yiddish 3.00
" Romanian 4.00

Japanese, Address to Wage Earners 10.00
Japanese were ordered by J. S. Roberts, 200 Jessie St., San Francisco, Cal.

I. W. W. CONSTITUTION
English, (per 100) 5.00
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French, " 5.00
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Hungarian, " 5.00
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NOTE—The requisite amount of cash must accompany each order. All supplies sent by the General Office of the I. W. W. are subject to express charges paid in advance.

W. E. TRAUTMANN
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Stuttgart Congress

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on I. W. W. Ground

Extracts from Resolutions adopted by the Congress on the Relations of the Economic Organization to Political Party.

"To subordinate the proletarian struggle to the needs of International, Political and Economic Struggle, the Political and the Economic Struggle are alike necessary."

BUT
"The Union will not fully perform their duty in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers, unless a thorough Socialist spirit inspires their policy."

ADD TO THE ABOVE

That the INDUSTRIAL UNION, the Economic Organization of the Working Class, is of primary importance and must supersede the political state, and the World Movement for Socialism to clarify and INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM TRIUMPHANT

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Industrial Workers of the World FOR ORGANIZATION

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The Answer

organizations as were willing to accept the principles of industrial unionism issued by the conference in January, 1905, and not merely "interested" in the principles of industrial unionism. The I. W. W. is, as its preamble makes plain, a revolutionary, economic organization, organized on industrial lines. Non-revolutionary industrial organization offers no more of a hope for the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery than craft organizations of the simplest and rottenest type. This clause, in our judgment, lays bare the scheme of the invitation, which is not as professed to reunite the several factions of the I. W. W. The conference proposed is, in our judgment, for the purpose of assassinating an organization that has withstood the efforts put forth so far to disrupt it by self-convicted grafters, fakirs, sluggers and the employers of sluggers, and those who supported such in their efforts to destroy the revolutionary character of the I. W. W., or failing in this, to destroy the organization.

THERE IS ONLY ONE I. W. W.

The invitation is addressed to the two factions of the I. W. W. There is but one I. W. W. in existence now or at any time that has any claim to the name. We shall always oppose the I. W. W. entering into any conference that recognizes as a labor organization the discredited officials guilty of employing detectives and thugs to override the expressed will of the majority and thus perpetuate themselves in office.

The instructions adopted by the 15th convention for the guidance of its delegates to this conference, absolutely prohibits any possibility of the I. W. W. taking part in such conference, in our opinion, and one in particular shows the falsity of any claim of being industrial unionists on the part of those who supported the said resolution, to-wit: "that our delegates be and are hereby instructed to maintain complete departmental autonomy." There is no difference between complete departmental autonomy and craft autonomy. Complete departmental autonomy absolutely destroys the principle of solidarity that industrial unionism aims to accomplish. There can be no solidarity where departmental organizations are given the power to make terms that are temporarily favorable to themselves, without regard to the injurious effects on the balance of the organization. The determination expressed in the invitation "to bring about a consolidation of the several factions of the I. W. W. in order that its members may be placed in a better position to withstand the onslaught and aggressions of organized capital," looks well in print, but does not square with the acts of the executive board of the W. F. M. in allowing to pass without censure the action of certain officers of the W. F. M. in aiding capitalist organizations and their allies to break up and defeat locals of the I. W. W. engaged in "resisting the onslaught or organized capital," in Portland, Ore., and later in Beatty, Nev., where the attitude on the part of the W. F. M. officials and the attitude of the "Miners' Magazine" was utilized as a basis from which to attack the local of the I. W. W., and also to justify the W. F. M. local of Beatty in withholding its moral support from the I. W. W. local in question. Mere phrases expressing adherence to principles or a determination to obtain supremacy for those principles are easy of utterance. To practice and to enforce obedience to those principles requires courage and integrity, characteristics which the actions of the W. F. M. officers in the case cited warrant us in alleging at least a majority of the present executive board of the W. F. M. do not possess.

ITS INSINCERITY EXPOSED

The third clause of the invitation further exposes the insincerity of those responsible for it. "Upon what meat have these, our Caesars, fed, that they have grown so great?" Solidarity of labor evidently has no other meaning to the signers of the invitation than the subservience of labor to their will and whim. Their will must be law, their acts unquestioned, even though such will and acts include the hiring of thugs and the inciting of attempts at assassination of those in the labor movement who refuse to bow to their will and will not wink at nor condone attempts to betray the working class movement into the hands of its enemies.

The officers of the I. W. W. are elected by referendum vote of the membership of that organization, and they are responsible to and THEIR RESIGNATIONS CAN BE CALLED FOR ONLY BY THAT MEMBERSHIP. We know of no greater obstacle in the way of labor's solidarity than at least the majority of the signers of this invitation. It is not personal enmity nor hatred that actuates us as members of the I. W. W. in our course in this organization, nor is the present situation of the labor movement and the organization in question resultant from that course. The question is a difference of principle; the difference between wrong principle and right principle, the difference between honest men and self-convicted grafters; the difference between men who are in the labor movement because of the fact that they are members of the working class, and men who are in the labor movement for self-aggrandizement and the holding of soft jobs at \$5.00 per day at the expense of the membership that they pretend to represent.

What recommendations you may make, sirs, to the next convention of the W. F. M. we care little, but should the W. F. M. through its convention take the steps which this part of your invitation makes as a threat in order to coerce the I. W. W. into accepting your dominance, our reply to that is that if the delegates are of a character that allows you to accomplish this change in your constitution, those who, members of the W. F. M. and signers of this answer, will feel free to leave that organization, and to call upon all honest industrial unionists of that organization to follow us in that course of action.

You say that you are determined to demonstrate to your membership and the membership of both factions of the I. W. W. and the working class generally, that you are "not responsible for the continued dismemberment of the Industrial Workers of the World." We repeat for your benefit, sirs, there is no dismemberment in the Industrial Workers of the World, but the task that you have, in this clause of your invitation, set for yourselves is impossible for you to accomplish. There is no intelligent member, who is posted as to the facts and the truth of the controversy in the I. W. W., but realizes that the action of the acting President of the W. F. M. is alone responsible for the alleged "dismemberment" in the I. W. W., and such action on the part of your acting executive officer is actuated by no other motive than to shield himself and his associates from the responsibility of his acts, and to perpetuate in office men whom he has since been forced to acknowledge at their true worth. We yield to no man or set of men in our desire for working class solidarity in correct organization, on correct principles and correct lines, but we know that this solidarity cannot be accomplished by fastening on the backs of the laboring class an organization which shelters men of the character that the I. W. W. has had to fight in the year past, or of the character of some of those whose hands the destinies of the organization were entrusted for the first year of its existence.

We have no regrets for our part in what has passed, and our hope is that the near future will see the membership of the Western Federation of Miners realize the full significance of the acts of its present officials, and through that realization take action that will relegate to oblivion those who are responsible for sulling the record of that organization.

In reply to your proposal that the officers of the contending factions express their willingness to resign, so as not to "stand in the way of the solidarity of the working class," we may say, that we are always willing to resign any position of trust and honor that we may have, if such resignation would be the means of advancing the revolutionary working class movement; but the suggestion will have to come from the same source that placed us where we now are, and not from men who have violated the trust that was reposed in them, as was the case of the present board officer of the W. F. M. representing District No. 1, when refusing to abide by the mandate of his local union in the 15th annual convention, or as coming from men who have defended an administration that condones the engrafting of thugs, the looting of the treasury, the issuing of fake referendums, and the gross insulting of the

rank and file of the Industrial Workers of the World, and the defending of Mullaneys as against loyal and true fighters in the ranks of the working class.

DO NOT FORGET CAUSES OF DIVISION

We have in mind at all times the deplorable condition of the workers and are doing the best that we can to show them the shortest route to the full product of their toil. We also have in mind the cause of the division at the second annual convention of the I. W. W., and unhesitatingly declare that it was caused by sending delegates from the W. F. M. who were more qualified for drawing up contracts between the mineowners and its slaves than they were for advocating the solidarity of the workers on the industrial field.

We would suggest to the rank and file of the W. F. M. that when they succeed in having a house cleaning at their headquarters on the same plan and with the same good results that the I. W. W. house was cleaned, that they then can lay some claim to being a "stepping stone to civilization."

For the solidarity of labor and a clean labor movement the proper place to begin with resignations is at the headquarters of the Western Federation of Miners. Let this invitation to compromise with reaction and dishonor be the means of putting renewed energy into our members. As we continue with the growth of our organization, let it be with our face to the foe as a clean, aggressive and progressive organization, and advocating every principle that is set forth in the Manifesto and preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World.

We call the attention of the officials of the W. F. M. to the fact that there is only one I. W. W., and there never was but one before or after the 1906 convention, when one of the signers of this call, C. E. Mahoney of the W. F. M., was retained on the G. E. B. of the I. W. W., but never has taken any part in any deliberations of the organization. In fact, he has done everything within his power to harm and belittle the organization and its officers, and was instrumental in getting the W. F. M. withdrawn from the I. W. W.

It is he who now says he will do everything within his power to bring peace and harmony, and in the next breath asks the officers of the I. W. W. to resign and step down and let him and the tools that have signed this infamous call have the I. W. W. annihilated.

Do they think that the rank and file are a lot of fools who do not know how to run the I. W. W., the only working class organization that is not dominated by officialdom?

UNSPEAKABLE IMPUDENCE

Do they suppose that the executive officers can throw the I. W. W. into any current that they see fit?

We are surprised that the signers of that call had the temerity, the unspeakable impudence to invite the I. W. W. to a conference after the assurance that Trautmann would not be there, given to the United Brewery Workers.

Further, as to the resignation of the officials of the I. W. W.—what do you suppose we were elected for, to resign at the behest of the G. E. B. of the W. F. M., of whom the majority have shown themselves to be reactionists?

Imagine, if you can, what kind of a cur any officer of the I. W. W. would be to obey that mandate from a bunch of reactionists?

If the W. F. M. believes in the principles of Industrial Unionism, then let them come to the I. W. W. Surely the I. W. W. has nothing to compromise. Furthermore, the I. W. W. holds a convention in September, 1908, and if the rank and file of the W. F. M. wishes they can take part in that gathering, the same as many of the U. M. W. of A. did in our last convention.

Is the invitation "to resign" extended alone to the officers of the I. W. W. (there is only one I. W. W. with headquarters at 212 Bush Temple, Chicago) and to the single individual bearing the euphonious title "Wm. J. F. Hanneemann, General Secretary-Treasurer" (of the alleged Sherman faction which has no existence except on paper)? Or is that invitation to resign to be extended also to the officers of the United Brewery Workers, the United Mine Workers, the Lithographers, and the rest of the organizations expected to appear at the "conference" on April 6? Are you (the officers of the W. F. M.) also going to invite yourselves to resign? We submit this is a knotty question, the answer to which your circular does not even hint at. Your proposition seems to imply that only the officers of the I. W. W. "stand in the way of the solidarity of the working class"—that you and the officers of all the other organizations named in your "call" are endeavoring to promote that solidarity with all their power. But "lest we forget":

No farther back in history than the last convention of the W. F. M. the only practicable plan for promoting solidarity—a plan submitted by the minority and contained in their report on "President's Address." (See page 488, stenographic report 15th Annual Convention W. F. M.) was opposed for six days by the officers of the Western Federation, who likewise voted against the same. The plan in question explicitly pointed out that the only way to settle the difficulty was for the W. F. M. to recognize W. E. Trautmann and his associates as the officers of the I. W. W., and to take steps to reinstate the W. F. M. in the I. W. W. and WORK THEREIN FOR SUCH CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES AS THE MINERS DEEMED NECESSARY OR DESIRABLE. This proposition was defeated mainly through the efforts of a majority of those officials who now disclaim responsibility "for the continued dismemberment of the Industrial Workers of the World." Haywood, though absent, was claimed as an adherent by both sides, on account of letters written by him in the Ada County jail and read to the convention. As a matter of fact, those letters show that Haywood was at that time trying to balance himself gracefully "upon the fence." Two of the present officers of the I. W. W.—Heslewood and St. John—supported with irrefutable facts, and logic the minority recommendation for the reunion of the W. F. M. with the I. W. W. These are now asked to show their willingness to resign their offices in the I. W. W. and hand over the destinies of our organization to such "promoters of solidarity" as Chas. E. Mahoney, Jas. Kirwan and their associates on the executive board of the W. F. M.

REFUSE TO BE CIVIC-FEDERATIONIZED

We are asked to advocate a sort of "unity conference" with representatives from the United Brewers and the United Mine Workers. What about these? The brewers are back in the A. F. of L., having been reinstated at their own solicitation by the last A. F. of L. convention at Norfolk, Va., in November, 1907. What have they to do in a "unity conference" with the I. W. W.? What is left of the United Mine Workers but the officialdom and the CHECK-OFF? Are we to unite with that officialdom and join the Civic Federationized A. F. of L.? Perhaps that is your purpose with regard to the Western Federation of Miners, and out of politeness you are merely asking if the I. W. W. cares to go along? If so, we respectfully decline. We decline to advocate any such absurd proposal as a "unity conference" between wholly irreconcilable elements. We have abiding confidence in the rank and file of all these organizations. We feel certain that when the Western Miners wake up to a realization of the unworthy role their officials have made them play in the Industrial Union movement the past two years, they will know what to do with those officials. The invitation for them to resign will not come from the outside then; their resignations will be peremptorily demanded by the membership of the W. F. M.

The I. W. W., as an organic growth, is slowly but surely forging ahead and breaking down all barriers. Amidst seeming unsurmountable difficulties the past two years—not the least of which difficulties resulted from the action of the W. F. M. officials themselves—the I. W. W. has made its way and is advancing the cause of Industrial Unionism all alone the line. Not only in America, but in other countries as well, is the I. W. W. gaining a foothold. The various sections of that New International are being formed that will bind together and drill the Workers of the World for their near-at-hand death struggle with international capitalism.

For these reasons and others, which we need not enumerate, we look upon your proposed "unity conference" as a joke; intended to be perpetrated upon an innocent (?) working class by a band of discredited officials and their dupes. However, we are reminded that history in repeating itself does so first as tragedy and next as farce. A repetition of the June, 1905, convention on the alleged basis of the January Manifesto, with the present situation in the labor world and with the elements promoting the scheme, would indeed be a rip-roaring farce.

CONDITIONS FOR UNITY

Of course there can be a unification of the forces of labor, and there should be! The rank and file in many of the A. F. of L. unions is as eagerly yearning for it as are many members of the Western Federation of Miners. We fully agree that "personal hatred and enmity of officials" should not stand in the way of consummating any feasible plan for unification. If anyone does he should be relegated to the rear. But not a few self-appointed guardians, such as you propose yourselves to be, should be allowed to determine who are the "desirables." Capitalist class interests have been at work against us from the very inception of the I. W. W. (not all the known facts, substantiated by incontrovertible evidence, could be presented herein), and what assurance have those who alone are interested in unification that your propositions are not dictated by the capitalist class interests? Are you to be the judges? The metalliferous miners, a very insignificant, unimportant part of the whole working class, by no means "the stepping stone to civilization" as you boastfully infer, repelled the idea of being dictated by the American Federation of Labor, embracing then in 1904 over one million members; yet you wish to make us believe that the rank and file of the Western Federation of Miners wishes, through you, to impose upon others terms which they themselves would indignantly repel and reject? Of course you're in a position to ignore the working class as a whole. As far as numbers are concerned you will not be able to show whether the I. W. W. with its membership does not wield a wider influence and power than you possess, and that it is a hundred times more feared by the capitalists than the Western Federation of Miners. But numbers don't count; principles and a right program are everything! Individuals who block the road of progress must go! Equality, however, between constituents is most essential for a successful consummation of plans, and of a sound program!

You have invited the United Mine Workers of America, the International Union of Brewery Workers of America, the National Association of Lithographers and the International Union of Bakers and Confectioners, four national unions, of which three are at present parts of the American Federation of Labor. We will take it for granted that these four will have representatives present at your proposed convention. It is to be a convention for the reconstruction of an I. W. W. "Industrial autonomy" is guaranteed to each of these four national bodies; that means, according to your concept of an industrial union movement, every wrong or mischief done in either of the industrial bodies can not affect nor concern the whole organization; corruptive methods may be continued in either of these bodies unabated; reconstructed "industrial autonomy" will shield any criminal.

We abstain from passing judgment at the present time on the records of either of the organizations invited, but as there are many coal miners organized now in the I. W. W. and in behalf of all other members, we have a right to express our opinion upon what terms a "unification" can be accomplished, with no "personal hatred or enmity standing in the way of bringing about the desired results." Always willing to be guided by the expressed will of the membership, we would suggest to them as provisions for the participation of the Industrial Workers of the World in the proposed convention:

BASIS FOR UNIFICATION

First: All present executive officers of either the Industrial Workers of the World, the Western Federation of Miners, the United Mine Workers, the International Union of United Brewery Workers, the National Association of Lithographers, or any other organization participating in the convention, must sign a pledge that they will resign from their positions and not accept the nomination for any executive office, nor stand for election as executive officer or organizer in the organization to be formed or any of the bodies represented and installed; neither shall any of the incumbents in an executive office of either of the aforesaid bodies accept an office in the organizations or a commission as salaried organizer for a term at least of five years;

Second: The organization to be formed must repudiate the sacred contract, check-off systems and excessive fining systems; no "industrial autonomy" subterfuge shall prevent the full exposure and disciplining of organizations where such appalling systems are in operation;

Third: No man or woman shall be permitted to accept a position as either executive officer or organizer of the general organization, or a subordinate part thereof (this to include all national unions as well as departments), unless he or she is fully conversant with the facts and principles of the class struggle and endorses the program that the CAPITALIST SYSTEM OF SOCIETY AND CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT MUST BE SUPPLANTED BY THE INDUSTRIAL COMMONWEALTH AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDUSTRIES BY THE ORGANIZED PROLETARIAT;

Fourth: Any executive officer who is interested by either actual partnership or beneficiary in the proceeds of any institution in which wage workers are exploited shall forfeit all rights and privileges in the organization to be formed;

Fifth: No general executive officer of the organization, or parts thereof, or any salaried organizer shall be permitted to accept any office in any political organization, nor shall they be allowed to accept nominations for any political office, except permission is granted by a referendum vote of the membership of the entire organization;

Sixth: All craft union labels, with no exception, must be repudiated as being instruments to keep the workers divided, and tending to establish graft union monopolies on the basis of a mutual understanding between manufacturers and craft union leaders;

Seventh: All transactions of the executive officers of the organization or subordinate parts thereof shall be carried on with full knowledge by the membership: rituals, passwords, secret signs, compulsory burial ceremonies, as in operation in the United Mine Workers, shall be repudiated and abolished.

Always mindful of the fact that no working class organization can be perfect except it keeps pace with developments and changes in the industrial structure of society, we are proposing these basic rules to the membership of the Industrial Workers of the World, and to you also, as the fundamentals, grounded in the rockbed of experience and knowledge, upon which industrial union activity can coalesce, and the revolution of the working class finally be brought to a successful termination.

We have not forgotten the inspiring words of Karl Marx: "Proletarians, you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain. Workers of the world, unite!"

We are uniting the workers; they are building better than you wise men know, and they, at the last resort, will pass judgment.

We can await their verdict, and theirs alone will count. Therefore, we, the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World, who have resisted disruptions, we who have forever cast off the incubus of craft-union superstitions and vanities, and are proud of our industrialist "fanaticism," we extend to the rank and file of the W. F. M. a fraternal invitation to appoint delegates to confer with us upon the ways and the means by which old wounds may be healed and your organization may once more take its place in our ranks—the equal of all our industrialist divisions and subdivisions.

FRED W. HESLEWOOD,
THOS. J. COLE,
RUDOLPH KATZ,
B. H. WILLIAMS,
WM. YATES,

General Executive Board.
WM. E. TRAUTMANN, Gen. Sec.-Treas.
VINCENT ST. JOHN, Asst. Sec. and Gen. Org.
A. S. EDWARDS, Editor.



BY WORD H. MILLS

wealth, had begun to combine outside of their gens into a privileged class, and the division of labor began to take form. Furthermore, it shows that the division of labor between farmers and tradesmen had grown sufficiently powerful to contest the supremacy of the gens as the basis of society. Finally, it proclaims the irreconcilable opposition of gentile society to the state. The first attempt to form a state," says Engels, "broke up the gens by dividing them into two classes—one one another and opposing a privileged class to a class of disowned belongings to two different branches of production."

Centuries elapsed between the time of the gens and the archaic polis or Solon's B.C. During those centuries many important events occurred, many of which are not chronicled. The office of basileus was abolished and archon selected from among the propertied aristocracy; the law of Draco was promulgated; the constitution of Cleisthenes was introduced in the state. The domination of this nobility were enabled to return home.

In the enactment of these measures we have the beginning of the process which is characteristic of all revolutions since that day: the protection of one kind of property against another kind of property. One kind of property cannot be protected without the destruction of another.

It has been observed that the people of Athens were now organized into an army. Also a navy for occasional short expeditions and the protection of merchant vessels. At some time not definitely known, but probably of great social importance event had occurred. This—the institution of the naucrarioi, small territorial districts, twelve in each tribe. Each was a local circumscripture of territory, and the citizens were drawn into the military and naval service, and from which taxes were doubtless collected. The naucrarioi was the incipient deme or township, when, under the influence of territorial basis was fully developed.

required to register himself, and to have his property enrolled in the deme in which he lived. The deme displaced the *naukraria*. Its inhabitants were an organized body politic, invested with powers of local self-government. The citizens of a deme elected their official head (called *demarchos*), treasurer and thirty judges, who had jurisdiction in minor cases. They also received their own temple and divine guardian or heroes, whose priest they elected. The control of the deme was in the hands of the council of citizens. Modern observers

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*The word (Latin, "tribus") originally signified "a third part," designating a third part of the people when composed of three tribal divisions. But, in course of time, after the Latin tribes were localized within a circumscribed territory, instead of consanguine, like the Athenian local tribes, the term tribe lost its numerical quality, and came, like the phylon of Kleisthenes, to be a local designation.—See Mommsen's *History of Rome*.

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